1: Karsten--382 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
823 (1928-29)

"Earthquakes (urkai) are caused by powerful iguanchi in the earth, who are shaking their bodies."

"Places and localities which have something striking in their appearance or are connected with remarkable incidents are inhabited by spirits, wakáni or iguánchi. Of these nature spirits, those of hills and mountains (neindya) are the most important. The hills are looked upon as the dwelling-places of dead sorcerers whose souls have transmigrated into these localities. When wandering upon hills and mountains, especially such as they have not visited before, the Indians keep silence and do not shoot with their guns, fearing lest the demon of the hill should get angry. When the interior of a mountain booms as they pass it, they say that it is the iguánchi who is beating his great drum or expressing his objection to being disturbed. The great drum of the Jibaros, called tundui, is even said to be an imitation of the tundui of the iguánchi living in the hills, and the dull sound produced by the big drum is meant to be a imitation of the booming produced by the iguánchi in the mountain. The demons of the hills and mountains, being spirits of medicine-men and sorcerers, are also believed to send disease. Hence the neindya iguánchi are often invoked by the medicine-men when curing their patients. Most feared are the snow-clad mountains and volcanoes. When the Jibaros ascribe chills and bad diseases to such mountains, they hold an idea which is spread everywhere among the Quichuas and other mountain Indians both in Ecuador and Peru.

The Sangay, one of the most formidable volcanoes of Ecuador, has been regarded with superstitious fear as iguánchi hea, 'the house of iguánchi', where the demon torments

to death those persons whom he has caught and carried off. The Catholic missionaries, when trying to impart to the Indians the idea of hell and of moral retribution after death, have availed themselves of their ideas about Sangay as the place where iguánchi is torturing people for their sins.

Rapids and cataracts in the rivers as well as waterfalls and cascades in the cordilleras (sása or paccha) are also regarded as haunts or abodes [383] of spirits. The Jibaro Indian, before he drinks natéma or maikoa in the forest, always takes a bath in a sása in the belief that in this way he is brought into more intimate contact with the demons with whom he communicates during the narcotic sleep. The Indians on such occasions generally retire to the forest, just because the ancestral spirits whom they hope to meet in the dream usually dwell in the forest. These spirits are mostly feared in ordinary life, but in dreams, on the contrary, they appear as the friends and advisers of man, as will be seen later on.

Among the Jibaros even a sort of stone-worship exists. Apparently insignificant stones of peculiar shape or colour, or connected with remarkable incidents, are often credited with a mysterious power and raised to the rank of real fetishes. Among these are the 'lightning-stones' by which the Jibaros understand small round black stones which are said to have been hurled down from heaven by a flash of lightning, or more strictly speaking, by those departed Jibaro warriors whose spirits are believed to be

active in thunder and lightning. The supernatural power with which they are endowed is due to their connection with these spirits. Since they proceed from warriors they are especially believed to give success in war. Besides this, when kept for a long time they will have the effect of promoting the growth of the domestic swine and the fowls. This particular belief is closely connected with the worship of the dead, and especially the worship of dead ancestors characteristic of the Jibaros. The Indians appreciate their 'lightning-stones' and all similar fetishes extremely and would not on any account part with them."

1: Karsten--391 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 823 (1928-29)

"Certain places and localities are inhabited by supai. The most important and most feared of these are the urcu supai, the demons of the hills, and especially the razu urcu supai, the demons of the snow-clad mountains. All these are inhabited by the spirits of dead sorcerers who have transmigrated into the hills and mountains. They are supposed to send evil disease and are therefore often summoned by the medicine-men when curing patients.

When passing hills on their wanderings the Canelos Indians take care not to make a noise but keep silence; otherwise the demon of the hill will get angry and send heavy rain. The thunder-like booming sometimes heard from within the mountains is called by the same name as one of their principal bird demons, the big macaw, guacamayu. When hunting on hills that they have not visited before, they abstain from shooting with their guns and only use their blowguns. Otherwise they will not be able to kill any game.

There are also spirits in the rivers, and the cataracts are particularly haunted by them. Some of these appear in the shape of animals, as the amárun supai, others, again, in other shapes. In the small waterfalls or cascades, (paccha) in which the eastern cordilleras are so rich, there are paccha supai or sacha supai, 'demons of the woods'. In such paccha the Indians take ceremonial baths."

1: Karsten--504 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
823 (1928-29)

"A supernatural origin is ascribed to certain minerals, for instance 'lightning-stones' which are believed to have been hurled down from the heavens by ancestral spirits, lava stones thrown out from volcanoes, and especially to mountain crystals which are looked upon as proceeding from the devil-souls of departed wizards living in the mountains. Crystals are consequently reckoned among the most potent magical 'arrows' used by living sorcerers."

1: Karsten--504-505 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 823, 153 (1928-29)

"Whereas the astronomy, meteorology, and mineralogy of the Jibaros is thus to a great extent mixed up with superstition, their geographical knowledge is also very limited. They practically only know about the territory inhabited by the Jibaro tribes, and have most confused ideas about other parts of the South American continent, and still more of course about the world outside it. They know that there are other Indian tribes, in language and customs differing from the Jibaro people, but they interest them less even as enemies. They also distinguish the Indian race as a whole from the white race, but not even this distinction is a radical one. According to their idea even the whites have once been Jibaros; they are therefore called apachi, i.e. forefathers. There [505]is properly only one human race, namely, the Jibaro race. It is characteristic in this respect that the Jibaros asked me whether in my country also there are 'Indians' (shuara). They also asked me whether in my country there are equally big forests and rivers, and the same animals as in theirs. It was impossible for me to give the Indians a right conception about an ocean and the enormous distance which separates Europe from the New World."

1: Karsten--505 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 173, 823 (1928-29)

"Although the Indians have a few traditions, these traditions seem not to reach far back in history. What they know about the past, bears a strongly mythical character. The present-day Jibaros of the Upano and Santiago know for instance nothing about the big towns or villages, Sevilla de Oro, Logroño, and Mendoza, which some three hundred years ago were situated in their own land and which they themselves destroyed. They know that in former times they have carried on many wars with the whites and that the latter are, as it were, their hereditary enemies, but their real historical traditions hardly go back more than three or four generations in time."

13: Rivet--252 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 805, 823

Time is counted by moons. The year is called chonta from the name of a plant which gives fruit regularly every year. The astronomical knowledge of the savages seems most rudimentary; however, the surety with which they find their way in their forests appears to demonstrate that they use the position of certain stars to orient themselves. They have no idea that the earth is round, and think that if they arrived at the horizon they would fall into a big abyss (1). The only civilized country that they know or that they have visited is Ecuador, which the Macas call Tunguini(2); the Zamoras call the city of Loja by the name of Tunguina.

---

1. Simson, op. cit., page 393.
2. Ansola Martinez, op. cit.

20: Dyott--150
116, 133, 823

(no date) 1926 Jivaro

"While on the question of elevations, I should point out that such spectacular wonders of the Ecuadorean scenery as Sangai and Tungurahua, can never be credited with any permanent elevation above sea-level because they are constantly changing, either building up or breaking down. With the cessation of activity, lava welling up from below starts solidifying in the crater. Ice and snow piles up on top of this again, until a more or less permanent condition results. Then comes a violent convulsion within the heart of the earth. The accumulation of years is blown sky-high and distributed over the countryside. When the dust clears away, behold 200 feet or more of the summit has gone.

The Indians we came in contact with regarded Sangai with awe and superstition. Some expressed the belief than when dead, they would go down into its fiery throat, but this we found out was one of the many absurdities implanted in the simple minds of their forefathers by those jolly missionary fellows at the time of the Spanish conquest. The Indian's real ideas of death are nothing like so prosaic as this."

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336 A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

/336 cont./ Masses

133 of water, created by the melting of glaciers after the outbreak of
[731] a new stream of lava, have reached the low country of Mácas
and caused terrible destruction. These districts are also not in-
•[823] frequently plagued by earthquakes. Thus the Indian knows from
his own experience the far-reaching, fearful power of the
volcano, which he venerates with only shy reverence from a
distance.

I should like to remark here that it is not, as is some-
times maintained, the inner heat of the Sangay or the bottom-
less masses of ashes which prevent climbing; on the contrary,
the essential and sole difficulty lies in the magnificent glaciation
of the steep cone, which extends down to 4,300 meters above sea
level.

197 The language of the Jívaros is essentially different from
Quechua, so that the Indians of Riobamba could not make them-
selves understood. It sounds beautiful and has a certain masculine
802 seriousness. For counting, the five fingers of the hand are used
as a base, then one hand + 1, etc. To what extent higher num-
ber concepts are present I could not find out through my untrained
interpreters.

177 I should like to be permitted to add in conclusion a few
648 words about the future of these Indians and the possibility of
making our culture accessible to them -- Civilizatory attempts
were never undertaken by the Spanish or Hispano-American
parties; in all attempts of this type it was always only a matter
of the subjugation and exploitation of the Indians. The Jívaros
understand this well and therefore resist any intrusion in their
territory. The Ecuadorians can /337/ accomplish nothing by force.
If the Indians are left to themselves, however, they will, as I
have shown in the description of the warfare, gradually destroy
themselves. After what I have seen among the Jívaros, it does
not seem at all too difficult to me to fit this people into our
cultural development. Intelligent, ambitious, vain, and en-
dowed with a sense for clean, orderly housekeeping, it would be
easy to increase their needs by the gradual introduction of
European industrial products, to evoke the desire to acquire

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

for it is believed that Nuŋuí can hear it this way as well. A typical version is as follows:

> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I sing,
> So that the manioc will grow well.
> For when I do not sing,
> There is not much production.
> I am of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I harvest faster than others.

In addition to providing Nuŋuí with a dancing place and treating her with respect through songs, the mistress of the garden provides her with "babies" to encourage her to remain at the garden. These are three red stones which appear to the women in hallucinogen-induced visions and dreams as babies for Nuŋuí. The stones, which are chips of unworked red jasper, are known as the "stones of Nuŋuí" or the "stones of manioc" and supposedly can only be found through having a dream in which Nuŋuí appears and tells the woman, "I am hiding a 'stone of manioc' in such-and-such a place." Then the woman must go out early in the morning, before eating, to find the stone, because if she were to delay, it would disappear as Nuŋuí made her morning withdrawal down into the earth. Only one such stone is found as a result of a given dream, and each is jealously hoarded. They are hidden in the center of the garden under an overturned food-serving bowl. A myth explaining the origin of this practice is as follows:

> In the olden time there was no manioc or any other agricultural crop. The people just ate the leaf of the *uyuí* [a species of the Araceae]. In that time many people died of hunger. Since they were hungry, they said, "Let us go to this stream. Let us catch crabs." As they caught crabs, they followed the stream

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

842 [789] place after a long period of time, may resort to an anti-sterility remedy, which consists of the pulverized leg bone of a fox, which is mixed with manioc beer and drunk. Both men and women say that the preferred first child is a boy, which is justified on the basis that the father needs, and would enjoy having, a son to go hunting with him. Ideally, the birth of a son should be followed by that of a daughter. There is no clear-cut prejudice against offspring of one sex as against the other.

843 [824] The Jivaro are aware of the relationship between insemination and pregnancy, and predict that a fully mature woman can give birth to a baby when the *naitka* tree (botanical identification unknown) has flowered three times after her marriage. The *naitka* flowers twice a year, so their estimate is a year and a half. If the bride is just barely past puberty, they estimate that a longer period, five *naitka*, or two and a half years, is required.

[936] [949] Since premarital sexual relations are common, the birth of a child in a shorter period after marriage is not a cause for surprise. After the birth of the first baby, a three *naitka* minimum is estimated for the next.

[823] It is recognized that pregnant women have strange food cravings and may practice geophagy, something never done by anyone else in the society. They may eat, in small amounts, unfired pottery clay or the brown earth from tubular, above-ground anthills. When birth is expected within five days or so, the woman's diet is restricted to exclude the meat of certain wild birds.

844 Preparation for the birth primarily consists of placing two stout forked sticks, supporting a crossbar about two and a half feet above the ground, in the expectant mother's garden. At the time of birth, a clean banana leaf is placed under the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yaĉi*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yaĉi*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

sion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain *arutam* souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls, or spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each paces with the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "*tsau, tsau, tsau,*" continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink *tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in* cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam*.

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long time ago a man took *maikua* all the time. As a result, he lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink *natemä*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natemä* drink among the Jívaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the "real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jívaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natemä*.

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is attributed to Tsuŋi, the mythological first shaman who is believed still to be alive today living underwater in a house whose walls are formed, like palm staves, by upright anacondas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is described as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also seems capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. From time to time he is reputed to supply particular shamans with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*namurä*) which are

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

particularly deadly, and, on rare occasions to kill shamans with whom he is angry. No shaman is believed capable of defending himself from the *tsentsak* of Tsuŋi.

Laymen are not able to cure or bewitch, because they do not have these magical darts in their control. Laymen can treat the "white man's diseases," previously mentioned, with herb remedies, but such treatment of illness is little developed in the society. Shamans never use herb remedies.

Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may suck such spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman masters from attacks. The following account presents the ideology of Jívaro shamanism from the point of view of the shamans themselves.

To give the novice some *tsentsak*, the practicing shaman regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken *natemä*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain upon taking it into his stomach and stays on his bed for ten days, repeatedly drinking *natemä*. The Jívaro believe they can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tsentsak* periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice, apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual intercourse for several months. If he fails in self-discipline, as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the end of the first month, a *tsentsak* emerges from his mouth. With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experiences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he casts his *tsentsak*

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

against the center post in the men's end of the abandoned house, facing the doorway. A chonta palm stave stockade is erected all around the body, about one foot from it. A small opening is made in the front of the stockade through which is inserted the magical balsa wood staff the deceased used in bathing at the sacred waterfall. The staff touches a bare spot, left uncovered, on the chest of the corpse and extends horizontally out through the barrier.

In the adjacent forest, the sons build small lean-to's, each about 300 yards away in the four cardinal directions. Each night a son can come to the abandoned house to seek an *arutam* soul created by the dead father which, hopefully, is wandering in the vicinity. The seeker must come alone, without a copal torch, and in the utter darkness of the house touch the magical staff, follow it with his hand until he contacts the dead man's chest, and say, "I am your son, Father." He then goes out of the house to the north lean-to where he drinks tobacco water (nothing stronger is used) and awaits an *arutam* for about two hours. If none appears, he returns to the house, repeats the ritual and goes to the south lean-to, where he takes more tobacco water. The same procedure is repeated for the east and west lean-to's, dawn finding the *arutam* seeker at the last place unless he has already been successful.

On the subsequent night, another son, or even a son-in-law of the deceased, may visit the corpse, explain his kin relationship and attempt to see an *arutam*. According to several accounts, the vision is often seen not only in the lean-to's, but in the house, where the *arutam* souls are believed to come back to visit. Usually the corpse is left in this upright position only two days and then buried in the usual manner, although there are cases where it has been left longer.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls. First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has virtually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attributed to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*. Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakanī*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro, Tuŋurä, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro